[805] 824 They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.

They call the moon caxiate.

The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.

The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.

The last quarter of the moon, caxi-kian.

Day, cabiś; night, ximan.

[805] To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacuś.

The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá.

The morning star, cabiará.

The Southern Cross, chenchenta (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

823 They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

775 When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbé, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ekcá large enough to hold them all.

[830] Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

[776] Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

764 When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

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609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Munduruçú; they are *kuwi pajé*, "far relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracererա. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudocaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceará ?], the Caraiwat, known as "Messerhelden," have a bad reputation. The *judeu'wyc*, the Jews, are hated, as having [73] treated the Munduruçú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Munduruçú and Apaiçá fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Munduruçú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [41] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Munduruçú never kills his domestic animals, [232] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [233] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Munduruçú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

242 The Munduruçú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

●776 The Munduruçú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Munduruçú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Munduruçú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. 355 On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, category III, p. 57 - A. - Analyst]

●776 The only trace of higher belief I could find is in the language, [394] which has a word (gettut) for God and another (cẽuschi) for devil. The pajé is also considered by them to be a powerful and fearful person. He is thought of as a relative of the devil or as a person possessed [Inspiritez]. For his medical help he is rewarded with cotton thread or weapons as he is among the Apiacas with whom, in fact, the Mundrucus have a number of customs and usages in common.

175 Before 1770 the Mundrucus were hardly known in Brazil by name.
648 But then they burst forth in numerous hordes all along the Rio Tapajôz, destroyed the settlements and made themselves so dreaded that troops had to be despatched against them, troops they resisted fearlessly. In the 1780's a troop more than two thousand men strong came out of their malocas, crossed the Xingund Tocantins rivers and marched to the western border of Maranhão province spreading war and despoliation as they went. But there they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the warlike Apinayes and only remnants from the murderous battle were left to move north to the Mojú rivers where they devastated the Portuguese farms. * Forced back by the united planters, they finally

* The so-called "Guajajaras" are supposed to be a splinter group dating from that time. In 1818 they were put into villages near Cernadello on the Rio Gurupi Corografia paraênse p. 117. Perhaps Guaia-jar? p. 383.

retreated to the rest of the tribe on the Tapajôz. The government sent after them a detachment of 300 men which came upon a heavily populated maloca ten days after leaving the river. Encircled by enemies they fought their way through with great difficulty and finally reached the banks of the river. The Mundrucus are reputed to have lost nearly 1,000 men. The statement comes from a chieftain who made the first treaty and who used his notched stick as reference. Their inclination for war allowed them only a short rest. They went to war against the Muras, who for a long time had rendered the waterways of the Amazon uncertain and had plundered many a settlement. They waged against them so horrible a war of extinction that the Muras in 1785 yielded in Maripi to the Portuguese and promised permanent friendship. Then they

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In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs. The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special beverage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house; the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibö, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vorabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons. When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusakaibö (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

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Karusakaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau (Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite (Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karusakaibö's companion and helper is Daiiru (Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karusakaibö and his sons and companion is a recurrent theme in several myths reported by Strömer and Tocantins. In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karusakaibö learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daiiru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daiiru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karusakaibö; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karusakaibö had made the world but had not created men. One day Daiiru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karusakaibö blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daiiru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karusakaibö made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karusakaibö then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strömer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have once been in possession of the men's house, while the men lived in the

771 to a degree that varied slightly with their ceremonial knowledge.

775 Spirits

[774] The Munduruc spirits consisted of three rough classes. These were souls of the dead, spirit "mothers" of animals, fish, and plant species, and a variety of malignant beings. The soul was known as the ibiõbök, which also means shadow and image, and lived after death in the land of the sky, which was a hemispherical dome placed over a flat earth. The afterworld was a pleasant place where there were Munduruc villages and the old Munduruc culture was active. The souls of the dead were not dangerous and remained aloof from human society with the exception of that of the sorcerer which had to be destroyed after he was killed. Otherwise, the only time that the soul was malignant was when a very sick person lost his soul during sleep or a coma. The soul wandered abroad and tried to rob the souls of sleeping people. The Munduruc distinguished the "real" soul (ibiõbök), which was located in the center of the back, from the ibiõbök which was the reflection or the shadow of the person. The latter persisted after death also and, under circumstances to be discussed later, could roam the world as a certain type of evil spirit.

Souls could also be lost through offending the spirit "mother" of a game animal. The spirit "mother" robbed the soul and passed it from one game animal to another and finally through all the species of fish. This journey of

775 the soul was very serious for there were a number of dangers along the path that could destroy the soul and consequently kill the sick person who had lost it. A special ceremony was immediately performed to get the soul back, for the person became sicker as his soul traveled further, and when the end of the journey was reached the person died. It was necessary to recover the soul before it reached the final and fatal point when it was taken away by the smallest fishes. Some animals also had souls and when an animal died its soul returned to the "land of the game" where it lived on in human form.

776 825 The most important class of spirits was that of the "mothers" of the species. Of these, the pukcharkit (mother of game) was the spirit owner of all game animals, collectively, and the most important of all these spirits. The "mother of game" existed in two forms: a wandering type that traveled within the bodies of certain game animals, especially the land tortoise, and the "real" "mother of game" which had the form of a stone and could only be seen by the shaman. This type was usually found in the springs and deep, cool pools at the headwaters of streams. These are places where game is usually to be found due to the constant supply of water and the Mundurucú recognize this fact. However, they also say that the game is here because it is attracted by the "mother of the game."

The "mothers" of the different species of game were of less importance, but could be equally dangerous when

776 825 offended. These spirit owners were angered when a hunter killed an animal just for its hide and left the meat to rot, when someone ridiculed the game, when the spirit "mothers" were not "fed" by the shaman both privately and at ceremonies, and for a variety of lesser reasons. They took revenge by robbing the soul of the malefactor or causing him to have some accident.

Species of fish also had spirit "mothers," but these were of minor importance. There was also a "mother of fishes" which could be found in occasional alligators. As with all of the spirit "mothers" that resided in animals, only a shaman could detect in which particular animal it was located. In ancient times there used to be a "mother of birds," say the Munduruc, but a sorcerer buried her deep in the ground and she is still alive but can never get out. Wild trees of importance to subsistence had "mothers" too but these were rarely referred to by the Munduruc. The general "mother of the game" and the species "mothers" of the larger game animals were those that figured most heavily in the ceremonial life.

776 The malignant spirits were an important factor in the Munduruc belief system for they persist in Munduruc culture despite the decline of the rest of the native religion. In common with the Tupian tribes and the Gê tribes, the Munduruc believed in the evil spirit known as

776 Turupari.[25] It was a spirit that only attacked at night and appeared to people in the guise of a human. If one came within range, it threw a malignant object "like a stone" at the unwary person and this stone caused illness and possible death. The Turupari could walk on land, but it often flew through the air making a thin whistling sound in its progress. There were two types of Turupari. One consisted of fresh water dolphins that traveled at night as Turupari and the other were the real Turupari that dwelled in the land of the Turupari from where they made sorties against humans. Of all the evil spirits that preyed on the Mundurucú, this one was most dangerous.

It was mentioned previously that a person's shadow, as distinguished from his true soul, could take evil form after the death of its owner. This "shadow" turned into the ashik, a very tiny person that could only be seen vaguely and fleetingly by living humans. Only the ashik that were the shadows of girls who died when still small were dangerous, for they stole the souls of infants. Just as the little girl used to reach for the babies pleading, "Come here," so did her ashik take the souls of the children. The mother resorted to magical charms to guard her children against it.

777 25. Métraux points out that the Turupari was originally a Tupinamba supernatural which was adopted by the Jesuits to signify the Christian Satan, and which has been ascribed various qualities in its diffusion throughout the Amazon. (Métraux, 1928, pp. 58-60.) It is possible that its origin, or, at least some of its qualities, among the Mundurucú may be attributed to cahuchu influence.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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ferred indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Mundurucú village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarer. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tabá* (old person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *che karõbõ ejewõt*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tabá* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tabá*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can bestow the name B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kebuawat*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of this clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kirishi clan (large *itowbo* tree) has a subclan named Kirishianan (a small species of *itowbo* tree). The "companion of the trumpets" of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet "companion."

The clan had no residential basis in the nineteenth century, and little manifest function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

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Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and therewill perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among tie Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 Mundurucú religion is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and
776 unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

Culture Heroes

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacupari, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Munduruqú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Sh'kiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 Karusakaibö has been syncretised by the Mundurucú with the Christian God
797 preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture
797 hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially
842 those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5-6.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies. 797 773 842

In all his activities, Karusakaibö is accompanied by his constant companion, Dailru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky. 773

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibö myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karuetaouibö and Wakurumpö ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichökö is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichökö is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibö is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perimat, and the wars of Turichungpö and Karudailbi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibö and Wakurumpö. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.[1] The generic spirit mother of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually 776 224

[1] Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 53–54) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are clearly related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 235) reports the concept of the "mãe do bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Ita." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Taulipang refer to them as fathers (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, pp. 176–177).

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propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Munduruc ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their cooperation.

This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Munduruc culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Munduruc men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[5] and the Munduruc are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about a more southerly origin of the Munduruc,[6] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Munduruc religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

The mother of the game, or *putcha ši*,[7] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *putcha ši* and animals is conceived by the Munduruc to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *putcha ši* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *putcha ši* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirukud*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coat monkey. The Munduruc *wirukud* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirukud* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirukud* guise, the *putcha ši* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Munduruc country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Munduruc shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *putcha ši* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *putcha ši* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *putcha ši* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[5] See the myth of Porisat on pp. 197–201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[6] Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 390 and Steinen, 1892, p. 1.
[7] Munduruc words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription and a complete glossary of all Munduruc terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

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a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home.

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ãi*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ãi*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ãi* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which cunira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ãi*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area.

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ãi* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ãi*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ãi* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ãi* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of those ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ãi* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ãi* would become extremely angry.

The *putcha ãi* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ãi*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ãi* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ãi* sends another.

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The *putcha ñ* sends two types of malignant object, called the *yakip* and the *wirukud*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful, stonelike object in which the *putcha ñ* is sometimes found. The *yakip*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of lotus. Both the *wirukud* and the *yakip* are parts of a general, dangerous power called *ekawei*, that exists in all animals. The Munduruc believe that every animal possesses a *wirukud* and a *yakip* as part of its power (*ekawei*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *putcha ñ* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *yakip* or the *wirukud* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *putcha ñ*. One human stated that the *yakip* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *wirukud* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *putcha ñ*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Munduruc thought are the *bái ñ*, the *daje ñ*, the *ropoem ñ*, and *te tawé ñ*, or the mothers of the tapir, the peccary, the deer, and the prego monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *putcha ñ*, and they are capable of avenging any offense given to their respective children. However, the Munduruc commonly speak of "feeding the *putcha ñ*" and of the "vengeance of the *putcha ñ*" though scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the coatá monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *wirukud*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance than the animal mothers. The *anime ñ* is the mother of the fish, a position equivalent to that of the *putcha ñ* in the animal world. The *anime ñ* travels in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *anime ñ* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptilian, amphibian, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the tartaruga *ewerewaja*, species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the *peixe-boi*, or manatee. The mother of the *peixe-boi* can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, but they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents the notes of informant responses on the subject. Munduruc beliefs are not, however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *wirukud*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

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stone and alive and strong. The *wirabad* is evidently a rather abstract notion of a mystic force that is an attribute of many classes of beings. But beyond this minimal explanation there is a degree of permissible deviation in interpretation. Some informants said that the *paicha ãi* was a *wirabad*, but others said that it was merely found in a *wirabad*. Another body of conflicting information pertained to the belief that there was only one *paicha ãi* but that it could simultaneously be found in many places. Again, a minimal explanation was given that there is but one *paicha ãi*, but it is divided into many. Deeper questioning drew rather different answers from different informants. In this, and elsewhere, I have given the most common explanation. It is to be understood, of course, that a range of variant belief and practice is to be found in all aspects of culture.

Evil Spirits

In spite of the great power to do harm possessed by the spirits associated with the animal world, the Mundurucú do not look upon these supernaturals as inherently evil or malignant. They attack people only when unjustly provoked and are beneficial when properly propitiated. Since man knows the rules that must be followed to maintain the benevolence of the spirits of the animal world, their vengeance is due to human frailty and not to supernatural caprice or malevolence. The proper attitude toward this class of supernaturals is one of respect and caution, and not of intrinsic fear.

However, the Mundurucú believe in other spirits, some of which are dangerous at all times and which attack humans without provocation. The most powerful of these is the class of spirits called *Turupari*, belief in which is extremely widespread among the Tupian-speaking peoples of South America. The Mundurucú recognize three types of *Turupari*. The first is said to be composed of the real *Turupari* and includes the souls of people who have been killed by attacks of the *Turupari*. Another type of *Turupari* is that created by sorcerers to accompany their souls on predatory journeys. These *Turupari* are neither as prevalent nor as powerful as the first type, but they are, nonetheless, greatly dreaded. The last category of *Turupari* includes the fresh-water porpoises that inhabit the Amazonian rivers. The porpoises are believed to swim in the rivers only by day; at night they are transformed into handsome men or beautiful women who dress in white clothes and travel on land. These are believed to be the least dangerous of all the *Turupari*, although they are still considered malevolent and capable of attacking humans.

Mundurucú humans report that the porpoise class of *Turupari* frequently complains to them that the other *Turupari* are the real demons and that they themselves suffer from their assaults. This third class of *Turupari* is distinguished from the first two types by other characteristics, also. Only the porpoise-spirit travels on land; the others travel through the air. The porpoises are visible to all people in their nocturnal human form, and their beauty frequently leads the unwary to approach too closely. The sorcerer-created *Turupari* and those whose lives and souls were taken by the *Turupari*, however, are invisible to all but the shaman.

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These Turupari make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise Turupari are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other Turupari is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

All types of Turupari travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Munduruci venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the Turupari is a magical stone that is thrown at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the Turupari is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

There are no means by which attacks of the Turupari can be prevented, but Munduruci shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the Turupari while in the field because the Munduruci informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Munduruci. The priests translated the Devil as Turupari, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the Turupari." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of Turupari beliefs shared by the Munduruci and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

One of the commonest beliefs of Turupari in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a fierce demon. Among the Brazilian caboclos, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to enamor victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Itá the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Munduruci Turupari, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Munduruci also believe in the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type Turupari was borrowed from the civilized population. If this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

*Wagley, 1953, p. 146.

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phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Tuxaua, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[1] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits.

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the Pawaparí take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the Pawaparí, or Devil.[2] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them.

The Pawaparí attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *aibi* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *aibi* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *aibi*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so.

Like the Pawaparí, the *aibi* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *aibi* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *aibi* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *aibi* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *aibi* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants.

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and cooperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure.

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *aibi*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *aibi*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit.

[1] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[2] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Pawaparí. Métraux (1928, p. 39) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

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SPIRITS OF THE UNDERWORLD

776 The *kokeriwat* are a class of spirits that are believed to inhabit the underworld. Although they are extremely mischievous, the *kokeriwat* are not specifically malevolent toward humans nor are they especially feared by the Munduruc. During the old Munduruc wars, *kokeriwat* warriors used to issue from the underworld and, unseen by all but the shamans, fought side by side with the Munduruc as allies. One informant stated that the *kokeriwat* were really the souls of Munduruc warriors of ancient times, but this is not a universally held belief and must be classed with our previously discussed minor variations on major themes. Despite the help given them by their invisible allies, the Munduruc warriors had to take certain precautions against the *kokeriwat*, for the latter always attempted to steal the teeth from the trophy heads taken by the war party. The Munduruc guarded against this by extracting the teeth, which were later strung on a cotton belt, and hiding them in the mouth of the head. When all the teeth were extracted, they were placed in a small box which the warriors suspended from their necks.

[342] The *kokeriwat* were also able to make women pregnant without their knowledge by assuming the form of a small bird and flying between their legs. They later returned to claim the issue. Several cases were reported in which the *kokeriwat* robbed the mothers of these surreptitiously begotten children. One child of the village of Paruwaritkihá was sent by her mother to fetch water. After a considerable period of time passed by, the mother asked some women who were bound for the stream to tell the daughter to return immediately. The women went to the stream and found two sets of tracks leading away from the beach. They called the men of the village, who followed the tracks to a hill within which was situated one of the underworld homes of the *kokeriwat*. A shaman called out to the girl and asked her to return, but the *kokeriwat* replied in a voice heard only by the shaman, "She cannot return. I am keeping her for she is my daughter." The shaman was afraid to make any further attempt to regain the child, and she was left with the *kokeriwat*.

776 Informants were able to name three separate underworlds of the *kokeriwat*. The
772 one to which that child was taken was known as Paradná. Another was called Wikotchongpó and was on the banks of the Iririri River, a tributary of the Cururú River. The third home of the *kokeriwat* was Kokeriwatka (literally, the place of the *kokeriwat*), which was near the Morro do Caroca on the Cururú River. All these places were abandoned by the *kokeriwat* after they became increasingly subjected to attacks by the Tuxaua. They now live in an underworld to the east and no longer have relations with the Munduruc.

776 The Munduruc know of the lands of the *kokeriwat* because many shamans are
756 said to have traveled there. Some shamans, as Pöönaboi, a former chief of Capikpí, even had wives there. The *kokeriwat* have human forms when in their own land, but everything else is the reverse of the terrestrial world. Pöönaboi, for example, related that the first time he had intercourse with his *kokeriwat* wife he told her to lie on her back on the ground in the usual Munduruc position. But the *kokeri-*

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wat do not have sexual relations in the same position as do the Mundurucú, and his wife replied, "If I lie on the ground I will get worms. We will do it standing up, instead." Furthermore, although the sun also rises in the east and sets in the west in the underworld, it is night there when it is day in the terrestrial world. The *kokeriwat* engage in fish-drugging expeditions, as do the Mundurucú, but they poison the water with the sipó snake and not with timbó. Also, they fish for anaconda rather than real fish. Fish-drugging expeditions are always noisy affairs, but those of the *kokeriwat* are so tempestuous that they create a huge wind which is felt in the terrestrial world as the two- or three-day cold spell which strikes the Mundurucú country in June of every year. Conversely, Mundurucú timbó-fishing causes a cold spell in the underworld.

Mothers of the Rain

The *mambat ši*, or mothers of the rain, are a number of spirits, each of which is believed responsible for a certain type of rain or storm.* The Mundurucú believe that the rains are their children and that atmospheric disturbances are the results of their activities. Informants were not certain exactly how many mothers of the rain exist, but they were able to give the names of seven and to describe some of their attributes. The *mambat ši* are colored in varying degrees of black or white, and all their possessions, such as carrying baskets and penis sheaths, are correspondingly black or white. All the *mambat ši* described by informants are male, but these male spirits have wives who are also considered mothers of the rain. Three of the *mambat ši* are mentioned by name in the legend of Perisuat.** They are Tiptaibitum (storm of wind and rain), Ianporungrung (strong thunder and lightning), and Kurobirarinyun (steady, slow rain). Kurobirarinyun was also mentioned by informants as the bringer of a fine, all-day rain and as being of whitish color. Of somewhat darker hue is Churarimunpõ, who appears on those days when clouds gather and thunder rumbles. The storm never breaks, however, and the sun always reappears. Daibiturebõ causes rain and high winds, but, although black, he is not as black as Daibituwatpõ, who brings storms with black clouds. Finally, Karuparabõ, also a black *mambat ši*, carries strong electrical storms with violent thunder and lightning. The thunder is believed to be the sound of his flattus, and the rays of lightning are thought by the Mundurucú to shoot from his anus. Karuparabõ's violent behavior is attributed to his anger because of the intimacies of his wife and Churarimunpõ.

The *mambat ši* live in houses below the ground; these houses are scattered throughout the world and their occupants determine the weather in their environs. One house of the *mambat ši* is inside a hill near the Cabitutú River, and its residents make the weather in the surrounding Mundurucú country. During the summer dry season, the *mambat ši* wander afar, as do the Mundurucú, and do not return until the beginning of the rains. The people are able to detect the return of the spirits to their homes by the first rumbles of thunder in September.

* Tocantins' (1877, p. 116) statement that the souls of Mundurucú dead are believed to produce storms was unsubstantiated by informants.

** See page 95.

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776 821 The *mambat ši* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

[789] Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucu informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ši*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karökö Secrets

534 778 776 614 The *karökö* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karökö* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ibiunbök*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tubö*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karökö ejcuvot*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

534 778 776 174 614 The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[1] but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karökö* of certain villages were also the *karökö* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[1] Murphy, 1956.

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panies of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776 778 174 604

When the Munduruú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Munduruú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Munduruú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *dxeabik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *dxeabik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *adxi* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *dxeabik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Munduruú are not so worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karixbi*, go to Karixbikai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests teem with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitchori, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

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are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow. 755

The *pakip* and *wirakad* sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Forapuri*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then flicks the object out of the body with a *watáu* feather upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These cures are usually only temporarily efficacious, and other *pakip* or *wirakad* frequently strike the victim anew after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately. 752

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *ibikwiaw* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *panema*. *Ibikwiaw* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernaturals. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year. 777

Shamanism and Spirits

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel to the afterworlds and to the underworld of the *Kíkerioust*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can 756 776 782

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see and speak to certain supernatural beings. This power is of great importance to Munduruká society, for the economic well-being of the community is believed to depend upon the proper propitiation of the spirit mothers of the game. Annual ceremonies were formerly held for this purpose, and the shaman had an important role in these rites. But the shaman was also responsible for pleasing the mothers of the game by 'feeding' them throughout the year. The latter required only the cooperation of other shamans and was of short duration and limited participation. Today, say informants, the spirit mothers are no longer fed because of the lack of sufficiently *strong* shamans. The Munduruká believe that hunting is correspondingly poorer than in the old days and life less abundant.

The occasions when he fed the *patóka ñi*, or mother of the game, constitute the only instances when the shaman went into a trance. A number of shamans were necessary for this performance. The strongest of them was usually selected to feed the *patóka ñi*, and he prepared himself by magically inserting the three instruments known as *wawk* into his body. One was placed in the back of the neck and two others in the back of either knee. The shaman then lay in his hammock in the men's house and was covered with a blanket of buriti palm leaves. The other shamans lit large cigarettes rolled in tauari bark and, inserting the lighted ends in their mouths, blew dense clouds of tobacco smoke into the hammock. Fortified by the *wawk* in his body and intoxicated by the smoke, the shaman fell into an extraordinary state in which he was able to see the supernaturals clearly. He then leaped out of the hammock, seized a bowl of *wiwi* (sweet manioc gruel), and, led by his *borombú*, another instrument, dashed off to feed the *patóka ñi*. He ran a short distance outside the village and there plunged into a hole in the ground which only he could see. He then traveled underground, shouting loudly in his passage, and emerged from another hole some distance beyond, from which point he continued his journey on the surface. The shaman visited the various manifestations of the *patóka ñi* and fed *wiwi* to all of them. He then selected the one that pleased him most and brought it back to one of the deep springs near his village, where its influence would attract game animals. The shaman returned to his village by the same route used on his outward journey. When he arrived back in the men's house, his waiting fellow shamans seized him and immediately extracted the three *wawks*, lest their power turn him into an animal. They then blew tobacco smoke on his body and washed and dried him, thus bringing him out of his dangerous state.

Only the strongest of shamans could feed the *patóka ñi* personally. Weaker ones sent their *wawk* out alone to call the *patóka ñi* together in the Land of the Game, and the shaman's soul went there to feed them. A shaman whose wife was pregnant could not travel under the ground, for the earth would close over him and trap him. One shaman related that this had once happened to a man, and the other shamans dug him out just in time.

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The shaman also has the power to 'manufacture' the mother of the pecary (*daye ñi*) and the mother of the tapir (*ixu ñi*). The mother of the tapir is made by killing a pregnant tapir and extracting the fetus, which is brought back

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to the men's house rolled in leaves and then slowly toasted and dried out over a fire. Tobacco smoke is blown upon it, and sweet manioc broth is occasionally poured upon it to please and feed it. The dried fetus is believed to become transformed in time into a baby tapir containing the mother of the tapir, and the shaman places it near one of the pools at the headwaters of the streams. Even weaker shamans can make the *bia ši*, and any pregnant tapir serves this purpose.

Although the manufacture of a *bia ši* was never witnessed during our residence among the Mundurucú, I was able to observe the preparation of a mother of the peccary in the savannah village of Cabruá. On this day, the hunters had chased a band of peccary that had passed close to the village. The band, however, had a fair head start on the hunters and escaped, leaving a half-grown member behind. The dogs cornered the animal in a bush, and the hunters were about to capture it as a pet when the shaman arrived on the scene. He ordered the men and their dogs to stand back while he smoked intently and concentrated his gaze upon the animal. He then announced that the young peccary was carrying the mother of the peccary, or *daje ši*, within its body. As the news spread, all the villagers came out to gaze upon the animal and to admire its "beauty," evidently seeking thereby to gratify the spirit. The shaman then grabbed the squealing peccary and sat upon it, while another shaman secured it by its snout. A third shaman pulled out the animal's eyebrows and some hair from its back and released it unharmed. The first shaman then brought the hairs back to the trumpet chamber adjoining the men's house and placed them inside the hollow limb of a buriti palm. Every day thereafter he blew smoke upon his creation and poured a sweet manioc drink over it. After a period of this treatment it was believed that the hairs would turn into a young peccary with the mother of the peccary inside it. The animal would similarly be carried to one of the deep pools in the neighborhood and would attract herds of peccary. Strong shamans, it was believed, could make the *daje ši* from the hairs of any peccary, but weaker practitioners, as in this instance, had to select an animal that already had a *daje ši* within it.

Other Functions of the Shaman

In addition to his curing activities and his role in the propitiation of the spirit mothers, the shaman performs a variety of lesser duties. When the village is moved to a new locale every ten years or so, the shaman must inspect the site selected. He ascertains if there are many fever-producing *orob* in the neighborhood, and he looks also for signs of the *Turupari* and other malignant beings. These malevolent forces can also exist below the surface of the ground, and the shaman must send his *ewaeh* to inspect the earth below the proposed village site. After the instrument has completed its investigation, it returns to the shaman and tells him of its discoveries.

The shaman, through another of his instruments, the *ebibit*, can also discover lost persons and lost or stolen objects. He blows smoke upon the *ebibit*—a small piece of cane—and sends it upon its mission. In the case of a stolen object,* the

* Theft is extremely rare among the Mundurucú and probably owes its occasional occurrence to the contemporary acquisition of trade goods.

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that many new *karikó* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that held when they were shifted to a new man's house. The trumpets are made in a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karikó* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[1]

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *wira onon*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Mundurucú explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *wira onon koe*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karikó*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Mundurucú ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals.

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine themes of hunting and warfare in Mundurucú culture. The Mundurucú recognize spirit mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Mundurucú perform annual ceremonies for rains and maize.[2]

[1] During the patrilineal phase of Mundurucú social structure, the males of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 139-13a.

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ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $80 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

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warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during ceremonies. The members of the *Biuli anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö*; this term is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

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Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karókó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (*tubö*) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karókó ejeuöt*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose *tubö* resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Waró* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ihí* and *Rapsem* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nucleus of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Waró*, *Ihí*, or *Rapsem* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

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614 534 779 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *wardmop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uchoim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabá*, *Arú*, *Yurí*, and *Ilí* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Ilí* are linked by common recognition of *aput*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabá* and *Arú* are affiliated through

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komtí, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yurí* find a bond in *ikõnip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Sau* clan may bestow the name *Marí* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirãi* clan of the White moiety and the *Waró*, *Sau*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kukusuut*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

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structure.[4] The religious life of the contemporary savannah dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of shamanism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Munduruc\u00fa regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Munduruc\u00fa religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued masculine activity.[5] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were either human or had human form in mythological times, and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

[4] A full description of Munduruc\u00fa religion may be found in my monograph *Munduruc\u00fa Religion* (1958).

[5] It will be remembered that the Munduruc\u00fa believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.